INCENDIARY DIALOGUES

For the Propagation of Anarchic Sedition



ALFREDO COSPITO, GUSTAVO RODRÍGUEZ,
GABRIEL POMBO DA SILVA

INTERNACIONAL NEGRA
EDICIONES



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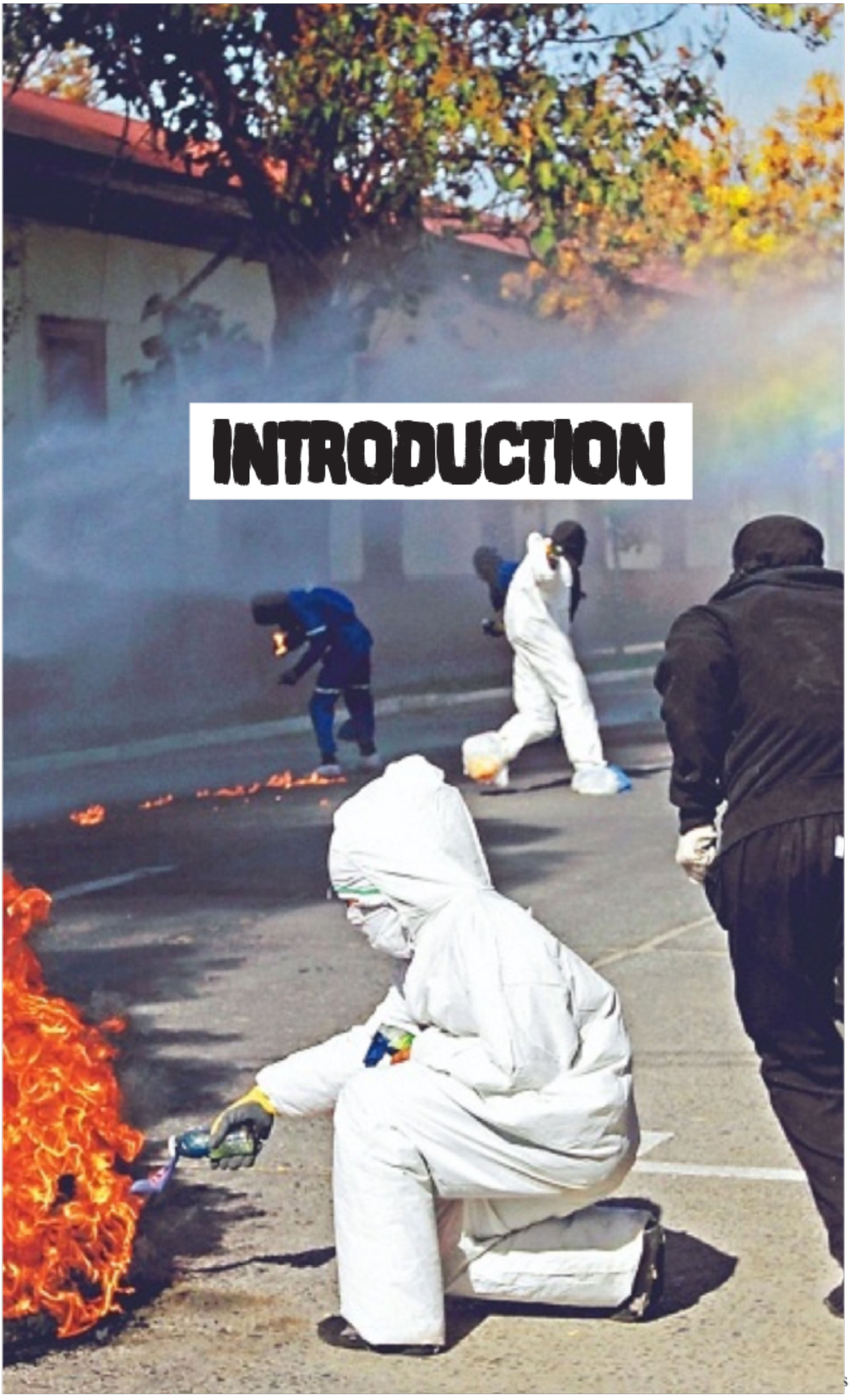
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INTRODUCTION

PRESENTATION

With **"Incendiary Dialogues: for the Propagation of Anarchic Sedition"**, we resume the editorial work of the **Black International Editions** project, a project of anarchic diffusion based on the free association of wills and individualities in a war where we make anarchy a practice of daily confrontation against Power and against every Authority. And we understand the need to propagate our reflections from practical experience of permanent conflict, directing our steps towards the impulsive sedition of the new anarchic insurrection.

This work is taken on today by comrades from different latitudes, some who were participants of the original project and others who, in line with the founding initiative, have taken part in its continuity and update, being involved with the implementation and circulation of ideas and proposals that motivate and contribute to actions of the informal anarchic tendency.

We are thus tackling a task that is still unfinished: "the elaboration of a new seditious paradigm which, while maintaining certain notes of fundamental theoretical principles, is capable of producing changes to critical methodological and organisational issues that will allow the reappearance of Anarchy in the processes of subversion of our time", to say it in the words of comrade Gustavo Rodriguez.

And, precisely, one of those projects and initiatives is the creation of Black International Editions, originally by **imprisoned members of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire** - prisoners in the dungeons of the Greek state and who in recent times have gradually returned to the streets - and by comrades who day after day, at every moment, embody in practice the value of **DIRECT SOLIDARITY**.

From the first days in prison, the comrades of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, aware that "theory is a tool that charges its true meaning only when combined with practice", have given birth to actions, reflections and criticisms through various escape attempts and countless texts, communiques, analyses and essays, published as brochures and translated into various languages by Black International Editions, stating that "they may imprison our bodies, but not our ideas and principles, which will continue to escape through the bars, materialized within different projects of insurrection".

Thus, from the hand of our imprisoned comrades, was born this publishing experiment that was not limited to Greece, but has been spreading through the international network of the informal anarchic tendency that has been promoting the Black International as a global connection of anarchic warriors since 2012.

From this perspective, and taking up again the words of the comrades of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, "we feel inspired by the name of the editions, hoping that the Black International will not be limited to libraries, bookcases and shelves, but it will

find its authentic motivation on the streets, where the history of the insurgency is written through anarchy and permanent insurrection".

Since then, Black International Editions has translated and published a good number of brochures and books in Spanish and different tongues, by putting into practice an initiative that seeks, at all costs, to break down language, geographical and political barriers for an international coordination of the attack on domination in an increasingly adverse global scenario. As never before in history, the system is capable of domination using a domesticating agenda -to absorb, fragment, integrate and neutralize struggles and social movements by harnessing the voluntary servitude that aspires to change only partial, cosmetic, institutional and/or merely cultural aspects of the system.

For this reason, and in order to reaffirm the option for total liberation, we have selected this rich exchange of ideas between three colleagues already committed to the development of anarchic informality and the spread of destructive denial, to update our plans and incite constant reflection and debate: Alfredo Cospito, Gabriel Pombo Da Silva and Gustavo Rodríguez.

Although some of the texts included here have already been previously published, their re-reading and joint edition places them in the dimension of a dialogue, which is always necessary when problematising reality and which encourages the exercise of criticism and self-criticism, identifying new gaps that lead us to constant experimentation, to make us freer and more dangerous in the anarchic war against all Authority.

On this occasion, the texts have been published simultaneously in Spanish and Portuguese, with Italian and English later, consolidating the dissemination of the informal anarchic proposal in four languages with a wide reception given to growing presence of comrades in affinity across such countries as Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Bolivia and Brazil, in addition to the permanent propagation of our proposal in other parts of the world.

We hope that this publication can feed into discussions and action by the informal trend of insurrectionary anarchy.

For the Black International of the Anarchists of Praxis!

Black International Editions
May 2020.

ABOUT THE COMRADES

Alfredo Cospito, an indefatigable anarchist comrade, has been imprisoned since 2012 in the Italian dungeons for his participation in the direct action of the "Núcleo Olga" of the Informal Anarchist Federation/International Revolutionary Front (FAI/FRI), in the

city of Genoa. He shot Roberto Adinolfi – an executive director of Ansaldo Nucleare (a large company of the nuclear-energy complex which is also engaged in the manufacture of weapons) - injuring him in the leg; for this reason he was imprisoned together with comrade Nicola Gai, both of whom took responsibility for the attack during the trial. Since his first days in prison, Alfredo has collaborated tenaciously in the development of the insurrectionary and informal tendency, making countless theoretical contributions to the anarchic war and encouraging debate between the different tensions that anarchically animate our days. Despite the bars, he has not been subdued, promoting hunger strikes and direct attacks on the prison infrastructure, as when he destroyed the windows of the visiting area in 2016, arguing: "Today, August 30, four years after my arrest, I wanted to celebrate the anniversary by giving myself the gift of destroying the panels in the visiting room. This action is my contribution to the revolutionary solidarity with my brothers and a sister of the CCF-FAI/FRI, who were sentenced to 110 years of imprisonment for a failed escape attempt in their umpteenth trial". Cospito was born on 14 July 1967, in the city of Pescara, Italy, and, has published several of his texts in different languages (Italian, Greek, Spanish and English) in the pages of Black International Editions, as well as in many other printed and digital anarchist publications.

Gustavo Rodríguez, veteran anarchist comrade of Cuban origin based in the United States, particularly known for his theoretical contributions to the Informal Anarchist Tendency and so-called "contemporary illegalism", themes to which he has dedicated books and countless essays pointing out that "anarchism is either illegal or it is not anarchism. That is its essence and its meaning. Its nature. For the same reason, it sometimes seems so obvious to us that we forget to meticulously insist on the anti-authoritarian character of anarchism and, therefore, consequently anti-systemic. We are against all authority. That is our maxim." The comrade was born in 1955 in the city of Santiago de Cuba as the son of Spanish anarchist parents and grandparents in exile, which led to a great attraction to acrimonious ideas from a very early age, being expelled from Cuba for political reasons in the context of socialist state hegemony after the Cuban Revolution of 1959. In December 2013 he travelled to Mexico City at the invitation of the organisers of the "*Jornadas Informales Anarchists* (First International Symposium)", being deported by the Mexican authorities, as did comrade Alfredo Bonanno, who was denied entry into the country to prevent his participation in the event. Two of the best known texts of the comrade (*Que se iluminarse la noche* and *La explosión de la rabia*) have been published in several Spanish editions by Black International Editions and some of his texts have been printed in Greek, English and Italian.

Gabriel Pombo Da Silva, well known anarchist expropriator of Galician origin - grandson of revolutionary peasants -, was born in the city of Vigo on November 19th 1967. He has spent more than thirty years of his life in prison, being imprisoned in the Spanish State and in Germany, for expropriation and escape, among other actions. After being released from prison in 2016, he was forced to go underground in 2018,

together with his close comrade Elisa Di Bernardo, in the face of the legal tricks of different European states that were trying to involve them in new repressive operations. He was unfortunately captured in Portugal on 25 January 2020, in compliance with an international arrest warrant for an allegedly pending ten-year prison sentence; since then he was deported to Spain in June 2020. Together with Rodríguez, he is a driving force behind "contemporary illegalism" and the Informal Anarchist Tendency (TIA), and has made countless contributions and interviews, which have been published in various medias and translated into various languages. In June 2016, Klinamen Editions published his book *"Diario e ideario de un delincuente: cartas, comunicados y otros escritos"*. In an interview conducted in 2018, Gabriel points out that "As an anarchist, I LIVE and practice Anarchy (...) Not by chance, and despite 32 years in prison (23 in solitary confinement), I am still subject to 'political' persecution for my seditious ideas".

Mailing addresses to write to the imprisoned comrades:

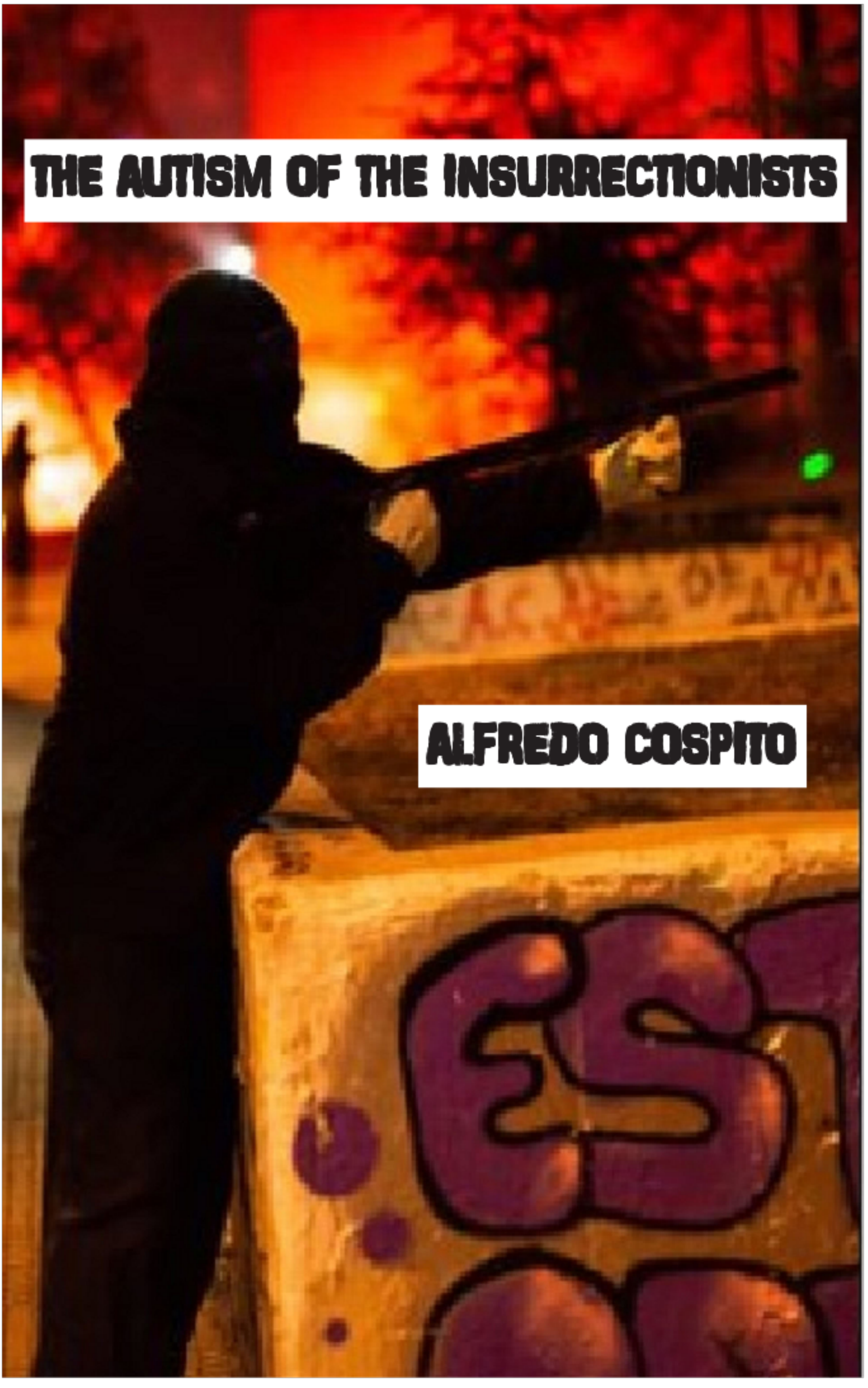
Gabriel Pombo da Silva
Mansilla de las Mulas Prison,
Paraje Villahierro,
24210 Mansilla de las Mulas (León)
Spain

Alfredo Cospito
Casa Circondariale Ferrara
Via Arginone 327
IT-44122 FE
Italy

17/10/2020: Prison addresses as reported by

325.nostate.net
actforfree.nostate.net

THE AUTISM OF THE INSURRECTIONISTS



ALFREDO COSPITO

The Autism of the Insurrectionists

by Alfredo Cospito

In recent times, the anarchists of action have put the individual and his group at the centre of their actions, leaving the assemblies and speaking directly to each other through their claims [of responsibility]. The very concept of "claim" has undergone a radical transformation, it has gone from being an instrument "open to the outside" to being an instrument "closed in on itself", aimed mainly at those with similar interests, at the community itself at war. Although it may seem a paradox, in this "introspection" is the death of politics, the search for power, for consensus, ceases. No recruits are sought, no "counter-power" to the state is sought. In this perspective, the contrast that some comrades make between "anonymous action" and the "claim" becomes instrumental, a false dilemma. Anonymous action and claiming with or without acronyms, if they are understood as opposing practices, however distant they may seem, become symptoms of a kind of anarchic "autism". Even if they are lived exclusively and dogmatically, they are nothing but two sides of the same coin, that of politics and that of ideology, in which you do not find communities at war but indoctrination and proselytism. We should not have any preconceived ideas about the different practices of anarchy (especially when talking about armed actions): whoever claims with an acronym in one context can avoid doing so in another, sometimes the actions speak for themselves, I do not see any contradiction in this.

Something has changed, now there are many concrete examples of a less dogmatic, more dynamic vision with more evident qualities than insurrectionism. Not a "by-product" of it, but a kind of "evolution" that seems not to stop in the face of condemnation, isolation and, incommunication. An insurrectionism that is certainly more disorderly but with the great virtue of not having preconceived formulas, because it is absolutely chaotic. It produces few publications, little academia, those who speak do so in total anonymity through their claims; from outside -anonymity- only the prisoners who proudly claim their own path speak. We are talking about a vision of the most dangerous anarchic practice because it is in continuous experimentation, it tries to intuit power to strike it where it hurts most. And this is how we can explain so many reprisals that are a scattered everywhere in the world: Italy, Greece, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Spain... It is undeniable that in the last few years the repression against the anarchist movement has intensified. The States speak of international anarchist conspiracies, in Italy the anarchists of the FAI-FRI continue to be singled out by the secret services themselves as the highest subversive danger from within the country.

At this point I think the time has come to ask some questions: does this "new" anarchy really bother power? And if so, what is it that bothers it to the extent that there are so many reprisals that, in my opinion, go beyond the usual repressive management of these countries? In short, to what do we owe all this attention? Of all the anarchic practices, destructive action is the one that immediately concerns governments the most. If this practice then spreads through a "common language" (communication through demands/claims of responsibilty), and which then tends to concentrate its own

forces on common, concrete, immediate objectives, the attention of power clearly increases. If, in addition, this way of speaking through communiques spreads beyond national borders, alarm grows and power is unleashed through chain reactions. This "common language" has been used by the informal FAI in Italy and by the CCF in Greece, and then with the FAI-FRI it definitely started the journey around the world evolving towards something more "essential", more dynamic, which no longer revolves exclusively around an acronym. It has never been an acronym (whatever it was) that has built this "common language", but the effective weapon of the "international campaigns" called not by committees, organizations, assemblies, but by actions, by the anarchists of praxis without any intermediary. We have seen this also in recent times with the thousands of actions that have taken place after the G20 in Germany, France, Greece... in the actions in revenge for the murder of Santiago Maldonado in Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Italy, Greece, France, Germany, in solidarity with the anarchist prisoner Konstantinos Giagstoglou in Greece, in solidarity with the anarchist comrade Lisa who is accused of expropriation in France, Germany... in the attacks on Turkey in solidarity with the Kurdish people who are fighting for their survival and in the persistence of the actions of the FAI-FRI in Italy, Greece, Spain, Chile, Germany…

This is, in my opinion, the practice of the anarchists that today most bothers power. How much does it bother them? We cannot say, but surely some problem is caused by these international campaigns, even if only in perspective. The beautiful thing about a practice that works is that it is contagious, little or nothing can make us submit to repression when anonymity envelops this impalpable fabric of actions woven by anonymous hands. As is always the case when something new is glimpsed, it is not only the enemy who is disturbed, but also those who refer to "tradition," to the ideological "purity" of "sacred" texts. It may be that we anarchists also cry out heresy. Comrades who in the past we have acted side-by-side with treat the "heretics" as stupid and foolish people who have not understood anything of the "initial project", of the "real" insurrectionary project. But does this contrast make sense? And if we recognise in both informal "tendencies" a strategic and methodological unity, what are the differences between the "old" and the "new" perspective?

Apparently these differences would seem to exist, at least from the point of view of power. To name one example, in the trial process of "Scripta Manent" the writings of the "historical" insurrectionists are taken as an example of a "good anarchism" as opposed to that of the defendants defined as "bad". The usual game of good and bad. Much has happened since the "Marini" trial, when the part of the good, necessary for power, was awarded to the anarchists of the Italian FAI [Federazione Anarchic Italiana]. Don't get me wrong, I still think that, however much judges, prosecutors and other nasty things may say, anarchists are all unworthy of power, any power. I am the first to say that these manoeuvres are only instrumentalisations, but they indicate what repression seeks to do, they reveal not only the true essence of power, but also and above all of what it fears at a given moment, it is compass that indicates the most effective practice, because it is the most feared. And observe well that repression is not

only limited to repressing those who strike materially but also those who propose a different strategy of attack with words and ideas; simpler, more dynamic and impalpable to power. It would be enough to listen to some audience of the "tragic" clowning that is going on in Turin at the court to realise this. It is stupid to write evaluations, what it is wise to do is to ask yourself some questions.

Let's leave aside this point of view that belongs to repression and try to answer the question about the differences between the "old" and the "new" anarchy. It is "coordination" that is the first difference that pops out between the "inclusive", "social" insurrectionism and then those -who like the FAI-FRI- relate only through action, giving life to calls for attack, through attacks. In the insurrectionalist strategy linked to intermediate struggles on a specific territory (for example in Val Susa [struggle against High Speed Rail in the mountains]), coordination is indispensable to guarantee that constancy over time that allows adaptation to the continuous changes of the "popular" struggle. Moreover, this "coordination" must operate without leaving a trace, because it has to "direct itself" without revealing its own insurrectionary objectives, because the "real movement" (the people) would not understand a perspective of radical confrontation without mediation and would interpret it as suicidal. The "pieces" of this strategy can have many names: "self-managed organizations", "grassroots committees", "people's assemblies"... And they must move with wisdom and prudence as in a game of checkers.

A "game" of strategy that risks falling into "politics" and "mediation", but which, if successful, would lead to an insurrection, even if only in small territories. Coordination implies a risk in common with the specific organisation, that of generating an elite of professionals in insurrection, who, thanks to their ability and will, decide and control everything or almost everything. This risk does not exist between groups, individuals, informal organisations that are part of the so-called "new anarchy". In this "anarchic international" there is no "coordination" between the groups that make it up... these are limited to concentrating their own forces on similar objectives through international campaigns, promoted by the claims of responsibility. There is no common, even minimal, structure outside the group itself... The FAI-FRI archipelago is one of the components of this "international" which is itself equally "unstructured".

Another difference that stands out is the "communique". The insurrectionists (old style) abhor it, as they abhor acronyms and abbreviations, for them claims of responsibility serve only to assert their own existence by dragging themselves into a sterile mechanism of self-representation and reducing the "oppressed", the "excluded"... to the role of mere spectators. This discourse would have its logic, if it were not for the fact that "claiming" in our case is a means of communicating with each other. In my opinion, a critique of this kind is out of place since we are talking about an internal communication of the "movement", therefore directed at the forces that already exist, at conscious anarchists and rebels who are already practicing destructive action. This kind of

"anarchist international" cannot aim at "proselytizing", let alone leading the oppressed into anarchy like sheep in search of a shepherd. We ourselves are oppressed and use the communiques to simplify our lives and avoid complex structures and cumbersome coordination that would stifle our action by slowing us down. This form of communication allows us to be more operative, if there is someone who just applauds, it is not our problem. As for acronyms and abbreviations, they are not indispensable, but when they are (for example the FAI, the CCF...) they serve "only" to give continuity to a discourse, a way of "uniting" while remaining separate. The following fragments of two communiques, one from Italy and one from Germany, are the concrete example of this continuous dialogue through actions that go beyond the borders of the nation states, "uniting" without being organized. In my opinion, they are a real, living, latent example of one of the many forms that "informal organisation" can take now and immediately:

- **Rome, Santiago Maldonado Cell / FAI-FRI claims the explosive attack on the Carabinieri barracks (07/12/2017):** *"Each individual and affinity group develops and increases its own experiences in fraternal bonding... The structured hierarchical organisation not only kills the freedom of individuals, but also exposes them more to the reaction of oppression. The informal anarchist organisation is the instrument that we have considered most appropriate at this time, for this specific action, because it allows us to hold together our irreducible individuality, the dialogue through the communique with the other rebels and finally the propaganda conveyed by the echo of the explosion. It is not and does not want to be an absolute and definitive instrument. An action group is born and develops on knowledge, on trust. But other groups and individuals can share, even temporarily, a project, a debate, without knowing each other personally. It communicates directly through action...*
With this action we are launching an international campaign of attack against men, structures and means of repression. Each individual with the methods they consider most appropriate and if they wish to contribute to the debate…"

- **Berlin, "Violent Minority" Cell / FAI claims the arson of a vehicle of a security company (06/03/2018):** *"The burning of vehicles of security companies in Berlin as a useful means of communication. Citing other claims, we follow the proposal to relate to each other in order to develop both a wider mobilisation of militant groups in Europe, and to develop our theoretical base. We recognize the words and solidarity and we share them, when RouviKonas writes about the attack against the Saudi Arabian embassy in Athens, 19-12-2017... Some people in Rome express our same thoughts when they claim as Santiago Maldonado Cell – FAI/FRI, the explosive attack against the carabinieri barracks in San Giovanni... Sometimes it is necessary to define the context in which we act, as the anarchists have done in BarLe-Duc, when they have poured a lot of anger and some flames in the car park of Enedis... Although we are few, we can organise ourselves instead of waiting for the approval of the so-called "movement organisers" and react to the attack of the authorities. We can act and choose our*

own time, on our own..."

To end the quotations, a contribution from the other side: An "insurrectionary" text taken from *"Avis des Tempetes - Anarchist bulletin for the social war"* n. 1 (15/01/2018); the title of the article *"Ricominciare":* *"...The informal organization or, rather, a self-organization without a name, without delegations, without representations... To be clear: there are many informal organizations, depending on their objectives. The informal method does not aim to bring all anarchists together in the same constellation, but allows for a multiplication of coordinations, informal organizations, affinity groups. Their meeting can take place in the context of a concrete proposal, a hypothesis or a precise plan. This is the difference between an informal organisation, which is surrounded by the irredeemably "lazy and mischievous" (not looking for followers), and other types of organisations in struggle, for which the important thing is almost always to affirm their own existence in the hope of having some influence on the facts, to give indications about the paths to follow, and to be a force in the balance of power. Informal organisation is projected elsewhere, avoiding the attention of the dogs of domination, it exists only in the deeds it carries out. In short, it does not have a name to defend or affirm, it only has a project to carry out. An insurrectionary project..."*

The companions who in the 80's and 90's in Italy lived in their own skins the so-called "insurrectionary project" should have understood that nice words and splendid theories are not enough to avoid "...the attention of the dogs of the domain...". The "Marini" process is a school with its decades of scattered years and broken lives. The lack of claims and acronyms is not enough to be "...lazy and mischievous..." when we are forced, so as not to remain isolated from the "social" context, to participate in assemblies where everyone knows everything before or after and where gregariousness, authority and power make their appearance punctually and inexorably. Nothing, in my opinion, is further from anonymity than the "insurrectionary project" understood in an inclusive, "social" way. It is not enough to want to "...not seek followers..." when the social struggles in which we participate make us actors and extras of media phenomena like the Val Susa struggle, or even further back Comiso, "laboratory" where this project has been experienced in practice, at least here in Italy. The insurrectionary perspective carries with it these risks, whether we can face them or not, it is a question of character and perspective and perhaps also of results... I cannot forget the silences in the assemblies in which they always spoke, "in fact" decided. I blame the immense majority of those silences, I was also among them. Too much conditioned by the authority (surely not sought after) of comrades with more experience, with more knowledge, better at talking, explaining themselves, better at doing, perhaps...

Today, outside this cell, I don't know what is left of this project. After the disillusionment in the Val Susa struggle, many comrades should perhaps reflect on the need to better calculate one's action and not lower it, but aim higher and realise that following "people" at all costs becomes counter-productive. The "intermediate" struggle runs the

risk of pushing us backwards rather than forwards, making us lose the sense of who we are, a bit like what happened in the last century with anarcho-syndicalism. Those who were not there in those years can be told a lot of stories, but more often we end up telling them to ourselves in order to keep alive comforting illusions or our own garden within the movement. And precisely in order not to tell those stories too, I have to be clear (especially to myself): there is no "pure" practice that does not involve some commitment or risk. “Purity” does not exist, and even less so when we have to throw ourselves into a desperate struggle where the "enemy" is all around us. Nor is there an "indestructible", "absolute" affinity (disillusionment may always be around the corner), so it is not certain that it will survive all the obstacles that power puts in front of us.

When we do not organise ourselves through a formal organisation, everything is based on friendship, loyalty, respect for words, affection, love and courage, things that we are wrong to call "eternal". Even more than a classic organization, in informality we must always be prepared to remain alone. Our destiny is entirely in our hands; there are no delegations of any kind. The degree of independence, of autonomy, must always be the maximum. I think it is healthy, deep down, "what doesn't kill us makes us stronger", let's hope...

To conclude, I think I can say that we are facing two different strategies based on informality that act on two totally different levels: the first has as its reference the social, the "real movement", and has the ambitious objective of triggering a generalised insurrection in the long term based on conflicts that are restricted to a specific territory. The other has the more "modest" objective of doing as much damage as possible, without delaying, with the real forces (however "scarce" they may be) that anarchists have at their disposal today. The two strategies do not have to be in opposition; they can coexist peacefully, well separated, in the same time, place and specific struggle. Another thing I think I can say with certainty is that any practice carries risks: in the "open" informal organisation that seeks a relationship with the "social", there is the risk that we will dilute and reach out to the mediation of politics. In informal organisation, "an instrument of war" (e.g. FAI/FRI), there is the risk of ending up in "sectarianism", in total closure with the rest of the world. In time we can forget that it is only an instrument among with many others and not an end in itself, running the risk of becoming "fans" of an acronym and not simply participants in a common "instrument" for the time being. To avoid falling into this kind of "autism" and endlessly repeating the same mistakes, it would be enough to never be satisfied with the results achieved- to continually sharpen our weapons and above all not to forget the usefulness of self-criticism, because nobody has "truth" in their pocket, if there is any "truth" at all.

In recent years, with this "international" of action, many brothers and sisters have begun a new journey, opening up perspectives that were unthinkable yesterday. Let us not be carried away by the "autism of the insurrectionists", it would be unforgivable…

Long live international campaigns!

Long live the CCF! Long live the FAI/FRI!
Long live Anarchy!!!

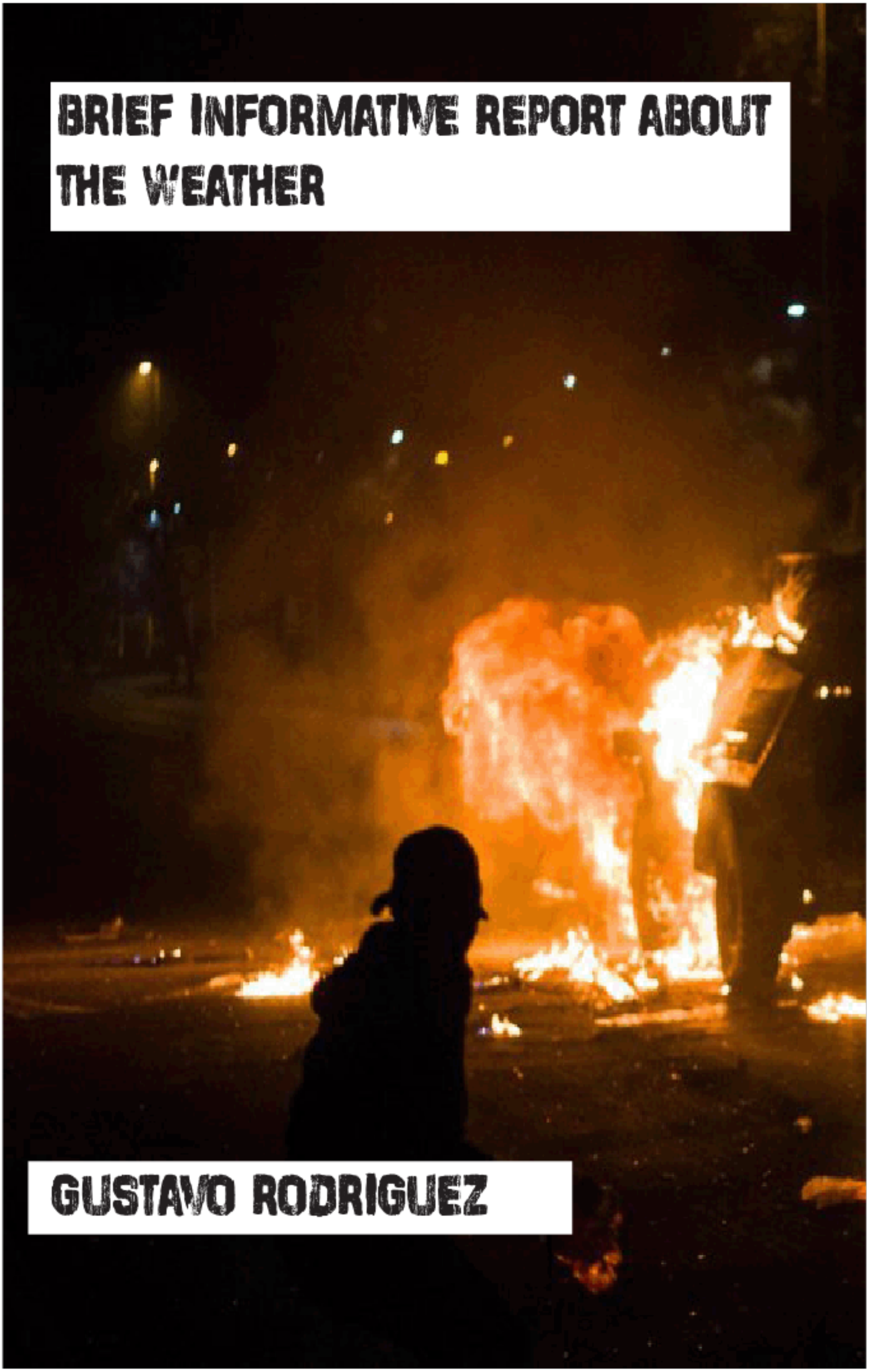
Paola, Anna may the earth be light to you…*

Alfredo Cospito
December 5, 2018

(Article from *Fenrir* magazine #9, eco-anarchist publication in Italy)

*Paola, an active companion in animal liberation struggles, into radical ecology and against all prisons, *"even in the affirmation of an ethic that is being lost"*. Among my regrets, there is also the regret of never having crossed your path...
Anna Campbell, comrade of the Bristol Anarchist Black Cross, killed in Afrin while fighting with the YPG.

BRIEF INFORMATIVE REPORT ABOUT THE WEATHER



GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ

Brief informative report about the weather

To Alfredo Cospito, co-conspirator and comrade...

What is condemned is precisely the fact of standing and walking from a radical critique of power and with an uncompromising ethic of freedom; and to make matters worse, to do it to the last consequences.
Daniel Barret (Rafael Spósito)

In recent times, an old and cumbersome debate - but not without importance - has gained new vigor within the anarchist circles of praxis that have been recovering, for the last forty years, the insurrectionary breath of Anarchy. In this sense, the leading role of anarchist counter-information blogs is undeniable(**1**), and of new international publications that are committed to the renewal of the anarchic proposal of an insurrectional sign. Among the publications involved in this theoretical debate, *Vetriolo, Fenrir, Avis des Tempêtes* and, *Kalinov Most* stand out; to mention some of the most active in this lavish process of updating the theory and practice of anarchists on both sides of the Atlantic. In their pages we will constantly find thoughtful essays and forceful contributions aimed at reaffirming the anarchic ideals through practice, confronting deviations and pointing out deviations. Most of these texts are anonymous or of collective authorship; or generally, assumed as an editorial position and/or, signed with the name of the publication in question.
"Outside of anonymity" - as Comrade Cospito reminds us - "only prisoners (and fugitives and poachers - I would add) who proudly claim their own path speak"(**2**). And yes, precisely one of those fellow prisoners who speak and write with their own name and surname is Alfredo Cospito, who, perhaps for this reason, has had to assume the vortex of the current debate intrinsic to so-called insurrectionalism around the dilemma between claiming [one's actions] or anonymity.

The core of the discussion, apparently, focuses on the antagonism that some comrades raise between the practice of anonymous action and the action claimed by some particular group. A remote internal discussion that goes back to the very concept of "propaganda by the deed"(**3**) and that grew, again, in the final stretch of the 1970's with the irruption of insurrectionary anarchism in the midst of the contemplative immobility that had taken root in our stores in the second half of the 20th century.

However, the discussion that concerns us today –that is now being waged dearly at the very heart of the informal anarchic trend– began to accumulate its current profile by the 1990s of the previous millennium(**4**) and recharged batteries in November 2011 with multiple reactions that generated the 'Letter to the Anarchist Galaxy'(**5**); this led within this context, two years, to the holding of the Informal Anarchic Days (International Symposium) in Mexico City, through inviting the divergent parties to participate but, unfortunately, systemic repression prevented this from taking place as its organizers had planned.

However, some comrades insist that the "dissent" is actually located in the inferred contradiction between the so-called "new insurrectionalism" and, a "classic insurrectionalism"; "traditionalist", "pure"(6) ... that which refuses to assimilate the changes that place it at the height of the present historicity.

Changes produce fear

In this situation, it should be pointed out that the modifications - slow or accelerated - that have been occurring in the course of the last decades in terms of social, political and economic configurations and; the adaptations that have been generated from the experience gathered during the last twenty years, with the impulses of anarchic warfare in specific territories, have caused a process of renewal - that feeds doubts and produces fear - in the very bowels of the informal anarchist tendency.

As Comrade Cospito warns us: “Something has changed” within insurrectionalism. This is not a ‘by-product’ of ours, but a kind of “evolution” that seems not to stop in the face of convictions, isolation and incommunicado. An insurrectionalism surely more disordered but with the great virtue of not having preconceived formulas, because it is absolutely chaotic.”(**7**)

Obviously, the description of this rabidly current event, raises concerns and raises questions. Consequently, we now have to dispel - as far as understanding allows us - fears and doubts, generally associated with processes of change. It is worth clarifying, then, that the renovations that have been carried out in the daily work of the circles of insurrectionary anarchism do not represent a new "deviation" within our stores or cement any ideological deformation. On the contrary, this dynamic development of the anarchist insurrection in our days - increasingly removed from recipes and other people's conceptualizations - makes the anarchic informal trend today reaffirm its foundational theses and begin to refer to itself as a model on an international scale. What can only be conceived as a field of opportunities and challenges; therefore, there is no more reasonable position than also pointing out, with the required substance, those series of obstacles that have been limiting the development of the current anarchic movement and on which we will have to act with the necessary determination.

But, before continuing to advance in the pertinent clarifications, I consider that it would be worth emphasizing that, the term “insurrectionalism”, has never seemed to us certainly suitable(**8**) when it comes to designating that profound process of reaffirmation and theoretical-practical updating that sponsored the return from anarchic informalism to the spectre of belligerent proposals at the end of the seventies, after years of ostracism and oblivion. Although it is true that the expression confirms the natural position of Anarchy vis-à-vis Power, in general, and, particularly, in the face of immobility and social-democratic contamination during the period of “anarchism in transition”(**9**); It is also undeniable that “insurrectionalism” runs the risk of being confused with a new merchandise available in the vast market of ideologies(**10**), and not only because of the nefarious suffix (“ism”) with which this word concludes, but

because of the accommodation of the very notion of “insurrection” which, in this case, is limited to the invariant strategy of “generalized insurrection”, reducing the infinite anarchic insurrectional actions to a kind of mathematical expression that does not change in value while facing certain transformations. In any case, despite this, and other equally important dissonances, we did not hesitate to join –beyond the eighties of the 20th century– that powerful process of re-updating anarchism that, as I have always pointed out, revived its transgressive gestures and revived its insurrectionary spirit assuring it of the present moment.

After a deep reflective balance of the struggles of the historical anarchist movement and a conscious analysis of the mutations of capitalism, a nucleus of Italian comrades inaugurated a set of theses and contributions that gave way to new understandings and new conceptions that no longer corresponded with the stagnant models of organization and action that for almost a century had given it its defining features, giving life to a recontextualized and rejuvenated anarchism, which regained its seditious capacity. This network of proposals and considerations would be known within the movement as insurrectional theses and, popularly, would be baptized as "insurrectionalism".

I am not used to throwing plastic flowers at anyone but, definitely, it cannot be hidden from us that comrade Alfredo Bonanno, would be the most enlightened promoter of these theses, dedicating himself to systematizing the contributions of that stage and producing countless texts with a certain re-founding ambush. I have always made this inescapable recognition, without however relegating the important theoretical-practical contributions of a large group of comrades, among whom my dear Consta Cavallieri, our beloved Jean Weir, Massimo Passamani, and, Guido Mantelli (perhaps, the most critical insurrectionalist of insurrectionalism in his time) and, while distinguishing a bundle of weaknesses and limitations, present in this trend since its rebirth, which is precisely listed in those "other dissonances" alluded to previously.

The storm in a glass of water

The opposition between "anonymous action" and "claimed action", although it sticks to being a storm in a glass of water(**11**), reducing itself to "a false dilemma", as Cospito(**12**) emphasizes; it is evident that there is also a Manichean contrast between the "generalized insurrection" and the "individual insurrection". In other words, it is subject to eternal dissonance between the supporters of the "social insurgency" - grafted into the "real movement" of the excluded with its strategy of "intermediate struggles" (inclusive, alliance and political) - and, the men and women of the anarchic war through the "individual insurrection" (filled with heretics, parricides and uncontrollable trash).

The seduction of this apparent antagonism is that it invites the deepening of ideas, constant reflection based on practical experience, and highlights the contradictions to be overcome; that is, it encourages us to evolve: not to stagnate, to refresh.

In this regard, it is important to corroborate an intense process of systematic renewal within the so-called insurrectionalism, traced along an extensive path of criticism of immobility, outdated anarcho-syndicalism, specific synthesis, "anarcho"-leninism (neoplatformism) and ideologies in general. This process has undoubtedly allowed it to forge itself as an open configuration that changes precisely under the influence of the conditions in which it operates and in step with the transformations in the struggles and in the ways of thinking and acting, adapting to historicity solidly of which we are part. Consequently, by ad infinitum prolongation of this process of renewal, it will be possible to make use of the specific inputs that allow us to work on our limitations and abandon ties and conceptualizations that today impede the free theoretical-practical development of contemporary anarchism.

It behooves us to give continuity to this process of appropriation of historicity and to experience a new thrust with its pertinent theoretical-practical renewal. What better way to promote a revamped theory and practice than by introducing an agenda of reflections and dialogues between the compañeras and compañeros committed to the recreation of a renewed subversive paradigm, capable of articulating informal anarchists and projecting anarchic warfare in all ends of the planet, facing the various forms of power established and to be established. But, with these -inescapable- dialogues, we will have to freely write them without arrogance and without moralizing condemnations. It is not the responsibility of anarchists to indoctrinate or scold, this only applies to those who evangelize from the pulpit with the air of spiritual guides. Those who act in this way do not look out for their relatives – those accomplices and co-conspirators with whom to carry out the anarchic destruction in the four cardinal points - but disciples and docile sheep to shepherd.

Unfortunately, many comrades who do not agree with the new contributions that are added to the process of renewal of the insurrectional theses, are left with nothing but speculation in the face of the spread of the chaotic actions of an anarchic practice that is causing more and more stinging pain in the organs of repression and power. However, these endless speculations lose sight of a question that is fundamental to understand what is happening: the prevalence of the "new" anarchic illegalism - this kind of "evolution" of the informal anarchist tendency - is not a consequence of what it does or does not stop doing or how it is done, but rather, the alternative (the one that through "intermediate struggles" prepares the conditions for the unavoidable "general insurrection") causes us an aversion to the vast majority of informal anarchists because it begins to look too much like that immobility that we had taken for granted.

That is the reason for our stubborn insistence on the need to push the debate far beyond the methods of action of anarchic informalism - anonymous affinity groups vs. coordinated affinity groups under one acronym or, the vindication of actions vs. to act incognito–, focusing the axes of discussion on the selection of the means for the concretion of the anarchic projection, which will allow us to update our criticism facing the problem of action against the conditions imposed by the current structures of

domination.

At the end of the seventies of the last century, insurrectional anarchism had the indisputable merit of reactivating praxis, tuning in to the reality of the struggles of the late twentieth century, calling to overcome old organization and diagrams of action and putting an end to the previous period of survival that eclipsed the movement and degenerated into ideology. Thus, insurrectional anarchism undertook an extraordinary effort of theoretical and practical re-elaboration that allowed it, in fact, to precisely place anarcho-syndicalist and its specific immobilism. Although it generated insightful approaches betting on expropriation, the destruction of work and the permanent attack against domination through informal organization; it never abandoned its obsession with an "insurrectional mass exit" and its overwhelming chain reaction until it ended in anarchist-communism by way of the transformative Social Revolution.

However, it is imperative to point out that this "deterministic" vision has had an automatic translation at the level of political practice and with the methods of action that the 1970's insurrectionalism was assuming as its main reference for criticism and confrontation, directly influenced by the rise of the autonomous struggle and other laborious 'studies of the night' typical of the time and which, at this stage, begin to show themselves as weaknesses and limitations of its theoretical development. For the time being, in order to better understand these positions, it seems essential to realize that the anarchist movement has repeatedly placed its theorizing at the rear of Marxian thought, adjusting to its theoretical agenda and adopting without a doubt a conceptualization that is not functional, much less consistent with its principles of destruction for the sake of total liberation.

In this sense, the insurrectionary anarchism of today deserves specific points that give it the opportunity to overcome all ambiguities and tune in to the reality of the 21st century. We have to let go of the moorings and lift the heavy anchor that has kept us stranded in the 1970's. We will have to go to sea and embark on a journey into the unknown. It is up to us to choose the course from the march. We are free to make mistakes.

The weather

The decline of "anarchist insertion" and its "model of intervention in the reality of struggles" - through the guiding participation of affinity groups and "the operational coordination of these groups in intermediate struggles" - gave way to irruption and extension of contemporary anarchic warfare, abandoning ideological deviations and concentrating on the permanent attack against domination from the individual and their affinites. As Cospito notes: "The "intermediate struggle" runs the risk of pushing us backwards rather than forwards, making us lose sense of who we are"(**13**).
Without detracting from the previous statement, it is now time to carry out a critical review of those multiple "ravings" that have led us to "lose the sense of who we are". For this, and for the moment at least, it is enough to mention national liberation

struggles (from the that of the Basque Country to that of the African-American people in the United States, passing through Puerto Rico and Ireland and the unification of the Saharawi State); the "anti-imperialist" struggle in Comiso; the brawl of neo-Zapatismo and its electoral decline in Mexico; the self-determination of the Mapuche people; the fight for the establishment of the Palestinian State; the revolution in Rojava, for the sovereignty of Kurdistan; the independence of Catalonia; electoral fraud in Venezuela, with its subsequent parallel government; the fight for the release of Lula da Silva in Brazil; the brawl to depose Jovenel Moïse in Haiti; among many other examples of a profuse recovery of the fireworks inventory. All irrefutable signs of losses and setbacks one hundred percent unrelated to the anarchic war**(14)**, that not only has thrown us backwards, consolidating an “anarchism” of the left (and right) that is increasingly eclectic, but has left a balance of fellow comrades imprisoned and murdered**(15)**.

Continuing on stranded in the repetition of failed models and immobilized by ‘marga-rine speeches’ - paraphrasing Alejandro de Acosta - pushes us backwards and con-demns us to be at the service of Power or to play war navel-gazing. In this framework of reflections, we have to place ourselves at the height of current needs and this demands of us an enormous effort of re-elaboration in the field of theory and practice, which breaks once and for all with this eclectic "anarchism" that today makes it impossible for us to navigate towards Anarchy.

The spread of anarchic warfare "with the real forces (however "scarce" they are) that anarchists have at their disposal"**(16)**, goes through that theoretical re-elaboration based on our practice and the definitive abandonment of everything else: a unique consequent way of deepening in facts regarding the critique of domination and voluntary servitude.

The elaboration of a “unitary” critique –that gives continuity to the war and urges us to unite “remaining separated”**(17)**–, as we have been proposing it, is nothing other than the updated redefinition of our features. This being the case, it is now up to us to integrate the accumulated experience (from more than forty years of struggle) with the changes that have taken place in our current daily conflicts.

Recognizing the degenerative metamorphosis of the once "revolutionary subject", today diluted in that imprecise legion of consumers/citizens, is the inevitable starting point to secure a community in conscious warfare, which contributes vigorously to extending the attack against the system of domination in our countries during this century. If we are not able to notice the feeling of participation in which the "mass" is happily submerged; that is to say, if we do not perceive the accelerated integration of that alienated group of "oppressed" and "excluded", we are not apt to develop anarchic warfare in our day. For this reason, there is an urgent need to renovate our ship –replace one or another rotten wood due to the erosion of time–, and that will only be possible after a critical evaluation.

If we do not critically evaluate the past, we will never have a detailed inventory that corroborates what we have, that allows us to know what we have left throughout our journey in history. It is urgent to know how many weapons remain and which have expired. It will be then, comrades, that we can dust off and grease those weapons that continue to be useful to this new expedition.

Today, the weather is favorable to navigation: anarchism has recovered its subversive character and its destructive vocation; affirming its open configuration, as changeable as the conditions of possibility. It is now time to agree in the middle of this chaotic journey. Coincidences must be encouraged, because these must give way to new understandings and new conceptions that provoke in us the desire to extend anarchic war to the ultimate consequences. The time has come and it is in our hands. It doesn't seem like we have much time to lose. It's time to set sail.

For the empowerment of the Black International (Informal and Insurrectional)!
For Anarchy!

Gustavo Rodríguez,
Planet Earth, January 10, 2019.

Postscript (of consolation): If we overcome the depression of having been condemned to the "museum of antiquities, along with the wheel and the bronze ax" and, we overcame the circulatory ailments and the affectations of low back pain caused by prolonged immobility, Today so that we are in full health, we will overcome autism without the slightest setback. For now, it must be clear to us that full recovery depends on ourselves and that it is not possible to entrust it to any doctor.

Postscript 2 (exorbitant): A strong anarchic and overwhelming embrace that brings down "condemnations, isolation and incommunicado", extended to my dear Gabriel and Elisa and to all the imprisoned and fugitive companions around the world.

Original text extracted from Kalinov Most No.4, April 2019 and, Vetriolo, No.4, Winter 2020.

1. We would have to emphasize the electronic media dedicated to promoting reflective discussion among insurrectionary anarchists, such as ContraInfo, Round Robin, Anarhija.info, Anarquía.info (Instinto Salvaje), 325, ContraMadriz, Las Rebellion de las Palabras, to recall some from memory.

2. Alfredo Cospito, “The Autism of the Insurrectionists”, Fenrir #9, 2018, p.p. 32-55.

3. Although the concept is attributed to Paul Brousse, for the probable authorship of an anonymous article that was published under that title ("La propagande par le fait") in the bulletin of the Jura International on August 5, 1877; Bakunin had outlined the principle seven years earlier: “from this very moment, we must spread our principles, not with words but with deeds, because this is the most irresistible form of propaganda. (…) At all times and in any circumstance, let us be inexorably consistent in action”, Bakunin, "Letre à un français", 1870, in Anarchy according to Bakunin, Sam Dolgoff, Tusquets Editions, Barcelona, 1977, p. 228.

4. Mantelli tangentially brushed this debate at that time; see, Mantelli, Guido, "From the Abyss", photocopied brochure, July 1998, p.13. It is worth clarifying that the fact of quoting Mantelli's criticism does not necessarily mean that it coincides with all his postulates; I do not know whether he continues to await the flourishing of "thousands of other social transformation movements" and whether he still bets on the Social Revolution as a key to Anarchy or if he embraced this impetuous renovation process that claims his right to make a mistake.

5. Letter to the Anarchist Galaxy. http://actforfree.nostate.net/?p=6610

6. Alfredo Cospito, "The Autism of the Insurrectionists" op cit.

7. Id

8. Paradoxically, both our own comrades and those external have always assigned me this label, when in a varying way I have emphasized informality, since that is the origin of the organisational method and, above all, the permanent insurrectional objectives of anarchy.

9. Talking about "classic", "transitional" and "post-classic" anarchisms refers to the systematization and analysis developed by comrade Daniel Barret (Rafael Spósito), which offers us a detailed idea of the sequence and periodization of the development of anarchism. It is worth noting that by "classic" period we understand the process of formation, deployment and apogee of a seditious paradigm that extends from its origins to the culminating moment of the Spanish revolution between 1936 and 1939. The second period, "of transition", would begin precisely with the defeat of the anarcho-syndicalist project and it was characterized by the withdrawal of anarcho-syndicalism as a paradigm, the confusion of political, practical and organizational alternatives and, a generalized nostalgic feeling regarding the Spanish revolutionary process. Finally, a third period begins which we have called "post-classical" which, with the reservations of the case, began in France, May 1968, closing the preceding stage and inaugurating new possibilities for anarchism and the need to tackle a still unfinished task: the elaboration of a new seditious paradigm, capable of producing the critical, methodological and organizational modifications that allow the protagonist reappearance of Anarchy in the subversive processes of our time.

10. This would be done by different detractors of anarchic informality, highlighting the insidious pamphlet of outdated Marxists of the Internationalist Communist Group (CGI), signed for the occasion as Internationalist Proletarians (Criticism of the insurrectionalist ideology) and, the text of the late situationist Miguel Amorós (Professional Anarchy and Theoretical Disarmament: A Criticism of Insurrectionalism).

11. Essentially, after the transformation of the concept ("claim") and the endogenous

character that it acquires by becoming a vehicle of communication within the "community at war", leaving behind the perspective of the construction of a "counter-power" to the State and focusing the action on "the individual and the group".

12. Alfredo Cospito, "The Autism of the Insurrectionists". op. cit.

13. Id.

14. In advance, I would hope that this intransigent exercise of reaffirmation of principles is not misinterpreted by the like-minded or is misunderstood as a call for non-violence or the contraction of destructive action; We are convinced that in these intricate crossings of belligerence we will always find the opportunity to strike certain blows with malice and premeditation, infecting and spreading individual insurrection against all forms of institutionalized domination or institutionalization; a reason why it is inconsistent to consider our war according to their agendas or to establish alliances and commitments (however insignificant they may be) with the ideological and organizational hegemonies proposed by each of the examples mentioned, too closely related to avant-garde chimeras, social-democratic reformisms, Patriarchal worldviews and populist nationalisms. For us, the Machiavellian maxim does not apply, in our case "the enemy of my enemy" is not always our friend. Whether or not it is the complacency of occasional detractors, there is no doubt that this reaffirmation is based on the theoretically most solid points of anarchic thought regarding Liberty and the categorical rejection of all forms of Power.

15. For the moment, it is enough to remember comrade Joël Fieux, who was assassinated in Zompopera, Nicaragua, in July 1986, compa Santiago Maldonado, who was assassinated in Chubut, Argentina, on August 1, 2017, and comrade Anna Campbell, who was assassinated in Afrin, Kurdistan, last December, among other victims of revolutionary porn, used and outraged to exhaustion for purposes totally opposed to Anarchy.

16. Alfredo Cospito, "The Autism of the Insurrectionists", op. cit.

17. Id.

MARGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO AN ONGOING DEBATE

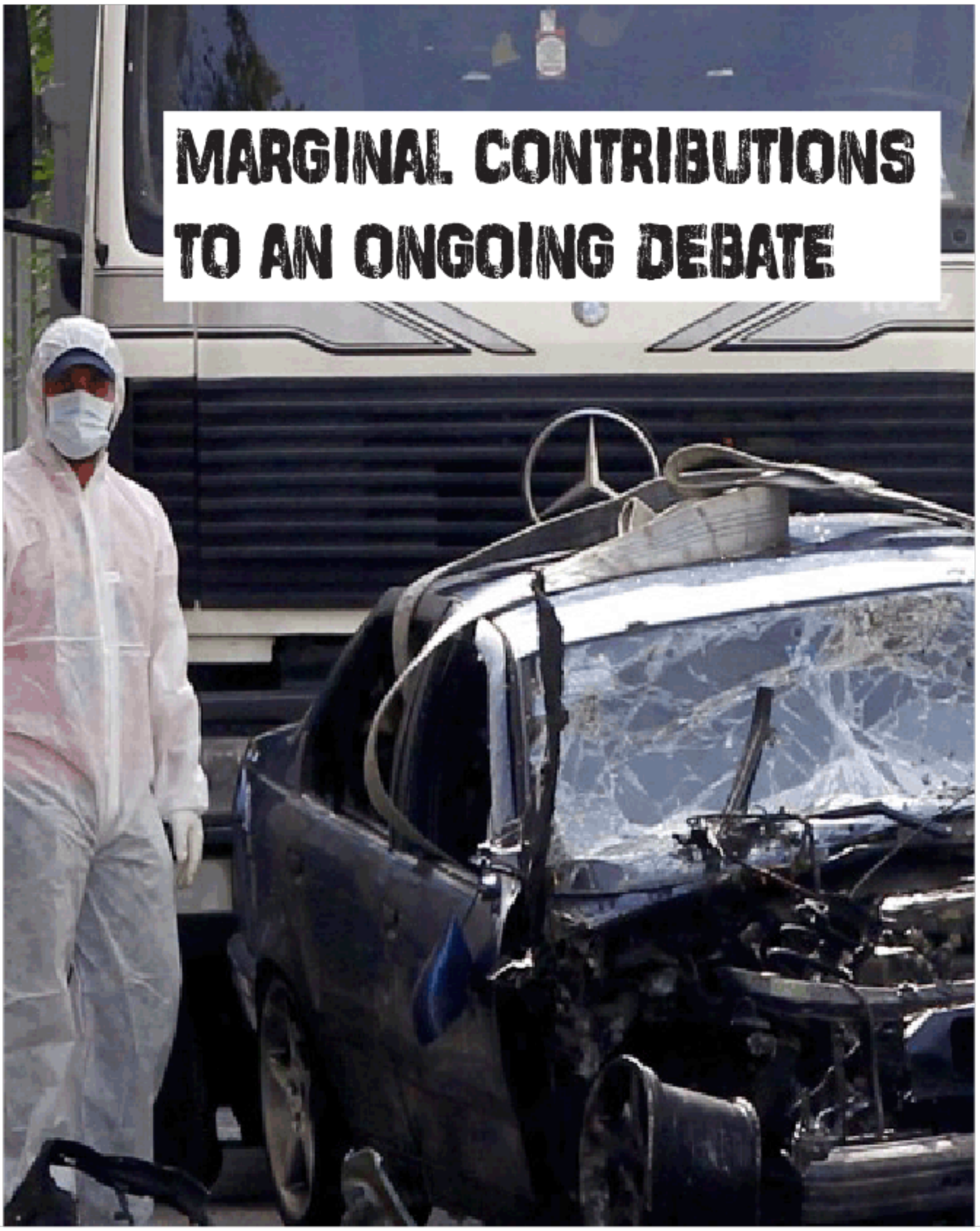


PHOTO: CARBOMBING OF THE DIRECTOR OF ATHENS PRISON (2013)



GABRIEL POMBO DA SILVA

Marginal contributions to an ongoing debate

- To comrades Alfredo Cospito and Gustavo Rodríguez.

By way of introduction

For years - decades in fact - I have been interacting with comrades of ideas, coming from halfway around the world, either in written and/or practical form. The practical part has always been the one that has kept me busy as the anarchist of action that I am, emphasizing praxis. That is to say, the need to combine actions -our actions of resistance- with our ideas. It is from practice that our ideas and theories are consequently nourished. One acts (or should act) according to how one thinks/feels and not according to the postulates of some sacred pre-existing codex, made by former priests.

Praxis does not end when they shut down a church, just as it does not end when we close a "historical cycle" favourable to revolt. Praxis does not hang like an old coat on the hook of the main gate of the prison, waiting patiently for the end of the sentence, so we can put it back on later... In prison our war continues with even more determination and conviction. There, we often wage more radical and ruthless battles, without feedback or ideological fantasies. Most of the time, even without any kind of affinity for many years. In prison, Anarchy defends itself with the curse, knife and the saw...

When I say that in prison the struggle is much more radical than the one we developed when we were "free", it is because in prison, the judges (or jailers), do not need to mask or sweeten their real intentions of annihilating you or dominating you under the euphemism of rehabilitating you. So war is to the death and permanent.

This happens because once you are segregated from the so-called "social body" and being a criminalized subject/object, you are no longer a "citizen" (whatever that means), with any fully alleged "rights", to become a number; that is, a prisoner; that is, discarded of any hypothetical "rights". Therefore, it is not strange that many anarchist comrades in prison took their alleged "rights" as a means (never as an end) to show the lack of them and to make the rest of the prisoners aware -from this basic and elemental premise- of the need to go beyond them. In other words: our aim is always to preserve our dignity and to conquer freedom.

In the Iberian Peninsula, both the C.O.P.E.L. *[Coordinadora de Presos en Lucha – Coordination of Prisoners in Struggle]* and the two A.P.R.E.S *[Asociación de Presos en Régimen Especial* - and the "reconstituted" or refounded section – A.P.R.E(r)]*, were collective efforts that demonstrate this paradigm. They were not "revolutionary" organisations and, not really "anarchist", rather, they consisted of "nodes of resistance" of a reformist nature, with a strong humanist background.

The C.O.P.E.L. complained (and rightly so) about the "comparative grievance" being carried out with the Amnesty being granted, which only released the so-called Political Prisoners, leaving the rest of the pariahs in the galleys. Much of those "non-political" prisoners, were certainly imprisoned by laws of clear political significance, imposed by the [Franco] Regime. For example, the so-called *"Law of Vagrants and Tramps"*, was for the "criminalisation" of homosexuals and prostitutes, including

the homeless to the people without a "known trade", in short, the poor of the time...

The "poor" and "immoral" people of that time had to continue hiding the "crime" of their own social status and their natural identity. Was it fair? Was it appropriate? It does not matter: it was legal and, as such, it was accepted by the "good consciences" of the citizens.
The governments of those years – whether with Franco or, with the post-Francoists - they were only interested in the inclusion of dissident politics in the parliamentary circus, to make them part of the regime and so to take the pressure off the social pot. This was what became known as the "Moncloa Pact" (or the palatial sewer), which gave rise to the so-called "Transition" (which we called transaction).

The C.N.T. *[Confederación Nacional del Trabajo – National Confederation of Workers]* waited a couple of years longer than the members of parliament before entering into the pact and immediately turning to the recovery of the "historical heritage" of the anarcho-syndicalist organisation, with all its militants. This being the case in politics, cells were developed for resilient armed resistance across the entire spectrum of ideologies: from the far right to the far left, with their more various shades...

The "common" prisoners (remember that the anarchist and autonomous prisoners were also put under such a label), in view of such a panorama, they decided to set fire to the prisons: with riots, escapes, self-harm, hunger strikes and, the "kidnappings" of jailers. The insurrections spread like black powder from the prisons to the neighbourhoods. Thus, the social war became widespread on all "fronts".

It is obvious that in this river of pissed off proles, many of them ended up joining armed organisations such as G.R.A.P.O. *[Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre - 1st October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups]* or others for a short time. The important thing was that -at last!- the armed struggle had been "socialized" and many of us understood (myself included) that we did not need "experts" to give lead to these fascists dressed as democrats or to all these retired killers posing as their "security".

This was the context where I grew up – a grandson of "reds" who lost the war -, peasants and poor; without any educational background, forged in the practice of political and social struggles, with enormous sympathy for the illegalists (whether political or "marginal"), who were developing their activities in full daylight and in full view of all, with pride and dignity.

And so, with this little introduction, I consider it necessary to exposing how and why, ones becomes an anarchist from practical experience. Explaining the given context of each anarchist individual helps to to understand the very discourse (wrong or not) that each one of us makes and defends. We have already said that an anarchist is not born, he or she is made, and is forged by the "materials" - theoretical and practical - that he or she finds in his or her environment.

Shredding the red and black rags and removing the black thread is not an easy task.

The *"isms"* have generated a whole series of misunderstandings about our history and has silenced memory, imposing the distorted lens of ideologies. A history and memory that some of us intend to reconstruct in order to put an end to so many misunderstandings, distortions and aberrations.

Having clarified this, and without the least theoretical pretension, I will try to reincorporate myself (from my practical experience) into the ongoing debate about anonymous actions versus claimed actions or, to put it in the words of other comrades, the controversy between what has been called "new *insurrectionism*" and "classic *insurrectionism*". What, from my (practical) point of view, actually fits into the necessary "theoretical-practical renewal" of anarchic insurrectionism and illegalist informalism. Aware that we must perform an autopsy - once and for all - on all political corpses that try to establish confusion about what we are and impose on us what we are not.

(Marginal) considerations

June 28, 2004, was a fateful date for me and others**(2)**, who, like me, considered that we were "writing glorious pages" for the historiography of contemporary Iberian anarchism. Not long ago, some comrades had been arrested in Barcelona (September 2003), allegedly for belonging to an anarchist direct action group, who were accused and convicted of weapons possession, explosive and incendiary attacks. Some of these detainees were friends (as well as comrades) who visited me in prison, keeping me informed of how the struggles we were promoting "from inside and outside" against the infamous F.I.E.S. *(Fichero de Internos de Especial Seguimiento)***(1)** regime were developing, and of the prison society in general that was making it possible.

I believe that the struggles against the F.I.E.S. regime were a laboratory that produced a large number of tests (both theoretical and practical), which prolonged the war for many years on both sides of the wall and even beyond its borders. For the curious, it is enough to mention that the internet was not yet established as THE predominant means of communication, but the number of printed publications circulating as fanzines, leaflets, newspapers, books and translations coming from all over the world was many.

From the prisons of the Spanish demomierda, books were published like *"Adiós Prisión"* by Juan José Garfia; *"Huye, Hombre, Huye"* by Xosé Tarrio; *"A Ambos Lados Del Muro"* by Patxi Zamoro; among others. The comrades in Barcelona had made an editorial effort with the magazine *"Panóptico"*, which described the society of confinement in all its forms and variations (of minors, adults, women, old people, foreigners, etc). This excellent journal -a compilation of all its issues was later reissued in book format-, raised critical questions such as the very purpose of confinement, listing its main objectives: segregation, social prophylaxis, re-education, redemption, re-socialisation; compensation or simply the economy of revenge. The journal made public the problems which imprisoned women faced or minors. Drug addiction, so-called therapies such as methadone and the huge quantities of psychotropic pharmaceuticals that began to flood every cell, department, prison. The painful difficulties that

was suffered by transsexuals locked up in male prisons. The confinement of "illegal" immigrants. The cruel way to get rid of old people by them being locked up in nursing homes...

Interesting books also arrived from the other side of the Mediterranean, with truly seditious concepts. Some of us devoured them and discussed them heatedly. *"Insurrectionalism"* had arrived in the Iberian Peninsula in a decade full of possibilities, but its theses were assimilated with suspicion, always under the suspicion of being just another "idiom" among the ranks of the Iberian "movement". It is known that in those lands and at that time, only the three grass-roots organisations existed that "officially" formed the "Libertarian Movement", these were understood to be the C.N.T., the F.A.I. *[Federacion Anarquista Iberica]* and the *"Julis"* (libertarian youth - *juventudes libertarias*), the Anarchist Black Cross was still regarded as being an exotic imported product.

In the readings and interpretations of these theses and in the case of other neighbouring countries (in particular Italy and Greece), many comrades were encouraged to "operate" on their own, either by the interior of the anarcho-syndicalist corpse or, from the first "affinity groups" not protected by the classic political and/or trade union organisations. In fact, it is worth remembering - or exposing, for those who do not yet know - that the seven comrades arrested in Barcelona in September 2003 belonged to the *Julis*. Perhaps it is not known either that the *Juventudes Libertarias* were (within the Iberian Libertarian Movement), the first to seriously "flirt" with the insurrectionary proposals of Italian manufacture (even, participating in the first and last Anti-Authoritarian Insurrectionalist International held in Italy). All this experience would be recorded in a book entitled *"Sharpening our Lives"*.

The “classic” anarchists, in those years, called these comrades "Bonnanoists". Here, it is worth making a parenthesis to highlight the purge (in the most famous Stalinist style) that the *C.N.T-ists* made when the "Julis" rebelled against them. The seven from Barcelona were "expelled" and denounced publicly and privately. Of course, this "Iberian insurrectionism" had little or nothing to do with the theses of the aforementioned [Alfredo] Bonnano. Social anarchism (of a political and military nature) was always here in these lands and, in fact, what they were putting into practice at that time made a mockery of the anarcho-communist practices of before and during the civil war. In that [civil war] period a whole series of conditions (political, social and economic) came together that made it possible for anarchism to take shape as a "real political alternative", as a "really existing social system". However, we must remember our "anarchist" ministers, the militarization of the militias and, an endless number of hallucinatory approaches that came out of our stores like the "anarchist dictatorship" or, a little bit before, the Pestaña Anarchist Party among other cultivated pearls. Fortunately, many comrades had references of anarchists - also of their own making - such as Sabaté, Facerías, Massana, Cara Crema, who stood out on their own merit and opted for anarchic warfare instead of taking refuge in exile to politicise to the point of nausea.

All these experiences and many more matured during the 1990's, until the beginning of the new millennium during the fight against the F.I.E.S., cherishing the hypothesis of a "new revolutionary subject". With much tact (even if many did not like it), the *"Julis"*, would write against *"el presismo"* - a clear allusion to an obsolete workerism- and the reformists.

Within this great movement - and this one was a whole spectrum of left-wing and pro human rights movements, coexisted in demonstrations, events, spaces and coordination. Substantially, we could say that all these groups and individuals differed from each other in that they "sought more humane prisons" (compliance with human rights, etc.) and consequently declared themselves abolitionist and anti-systemic.

The Association of Prisoners in Special Regime - Reconstituted [A.P.R.E (r)] was already history, its few militants were being legally exterminated in the F.I.E.S. sections. In the absence of possibilities of escape and riots (thanks to the new auto-mated prisons imported from the German model) the prisoners managed to reorganize themselves under the label of "Prisoners in Struggle". It should be noted that A.P.R.E and A.P.R.E(r) never had any political and/or social support. No were associations born to practice politics but for action or the organization of escapes, without regard or compassion for the guards or any collaborators. Its activists came from the sections of society most punished by misery and marginalisation, they had no faith in society and politics. In fact, the only demands that were called was when the action had failed (i.e. an escape attempt). "Prisoners in Struggle", for its part, was centred on a number of demands (the same as that promulgated by the A.P.R.E., when the action failed) which was then reduced to three constants **(3)**.

Unfortunately, many comrades are unaware of the short history of the A.P.R.E. The Association began its work in 1988 and by 1991 it was already mortally wounded. The F.I.E.S. and A.P.R.E. prisoners survived a slow agony until 1996 when Xosé Tarrio's book came out; then, the imprisonment of the four Cordoba prisoners [for bank robbery], together with the release of Patxi Zamoro, made all these facts gradually known to the public. The social, civil and political movement approached the press when they were already unarmed and toothless. The official "anarchist movement" also took a long time to approach.

Of claims, affinities and debates

The question of "claims of responsibility" in the anti-authoritarian sphere always depended on the purposes of the action and the individuals involved. Indeed, someone will still remember the 1st of May Group (of Octavio Alberola and company), which kidnapped a Spanish banker in Paris in order to draw international attention to Franco's dictatorship and the anarchists condemned to the death penalty by the regime. In this case, obviously,making demands was essential to achieving the objectives. Had they remained anonymous, little or nothing would have helped to publicise the situation of the anarchist prisoners and draw international attention to the dictatorship.

In the anti-prison struggles of the 1990's (specifically at the end of the

decade), ideological discussions about whether or not to claim actions were cardinal; this issue was the one that generated most debate among like-minded people. In general, there was a tendency not to claim actions themselves because "actions were interpreted within the framework of the specific struggle" (at least, that was the argument at the time). In fact, the actions were never claimed "one by one", but in the Fanzines, a kind of chronology of the anonymous actions carried out in support of the prisoners in struggle were published.

Obviously, some prisoners did make every action or sabotage their own. Hundreds of "anonymous" sabotages were carried out in those years. However, personally, I always sympathised with those actions claimed through communiques that so weakened the promoters of anonymity. Perhaps because each of these actions was not directed towards an abstract and undefined entity, but was directed towards us, as anarchists of praxis. This was the beautiful thing: they were not talking to a "historical subject". These communications were not meant for something amorphous and generic; they communicated with individuals who were specifically anarchists. It was a fraternal dialogue between brothers and sisters, not an aseptic chronology of anonymous quantitative actions.

Gabriel Pombo Da Silva
From somewhere in the galaxy...
7 May 2019

1. The regime of *"Fichero de Internos de Especial Seguimiento"* or the *"Specially Monitored Prisoner File System"* (F.I.E.S) was a set of measures implemented by the Spanish Prison Administration, consisting of greater control and surveillance, depending on the type of crime committed by the prisoner, their prison career or their integration into criminal organisations, with the aim of exercising greater control over complex "existing criminal formulas with the potential to destabilise prison order". Its origin can be found in the intervention plans designed in 1989 for inmates belonging to "terrorist gangs". In their definitive implementation, through the Circular of 6 March 1991 of the Directorate General of Penitentiary Institutions, they were extended and extended to other inmates, beginning to be applied regularly from 1996, when Instruction 21/1996 of 16 December was approved. In various orders of the Provincial Court of Madrid, the regulation of the F.I.E.S. and its legality were discussed. From Order 271/2001 of 9 February 2001, these files were considered to be lawful. Since its regulation in Instruction 21/1996, the F.I.E.S. has undergone the following changes; the elimination of part of sub-section B.1. A.13, which restricted the maximum duration of cohabitation visits to three hours, becoming six; the change of name from the category "F.I.E.S. 2 Drug Traffickers" to "F.I.E.S. 2 Organised Crime"; the elimination of some types of offences included in the category "F.I.E.S. 5" and the inclusion of new ones. In May 2009, a Supreme Court ruling declared the F.I.E.S. regime illegal, as it violated the rights of prisoners and because the regulations of which it was a part exceeded its powers. Their application would require a legal character that they do not possess.

For more information visit **https://www.brightonabc.org.uk/texts/FIES%20PDF/fies%20text.pdf**. (consulted 10/9/20).

2. This was the day Gabriel and three others were arrested following a bank robbery in the border town of Aachen, Germany. More info visits **https://actforfree.nostate.net/?p=394**
(consulted 9/10/20)

3. The three demands of the struggle against F.I.E.S were: *1) Abolition of the FIES regime and every form of isolation 2) Ending the dispersion of prisoners (to prisons far from their homes, families, and friends; dividing the prisoners from each other by moving them to different prisons and within the prison itself) 3) Immediate release of all terminally ill prisoners.*

* For more information on COPEL & APRE, see this booklet:
https://boletintokata.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/copel-apre_maquetacic3b3n-31.pdf

Note on the title page photo: To read the communique by CCF-FAI/FRI for the car bombing of the director of Athens prison in 2013, see this page:

https://325.nostate.net/2013/06/11/athens-responsibility-claim-for-explosive-attack-on-vehicle-of-the-koridallos-prisons-director-in-the-district-of-dafni-on-june-7th-2013-greece/



{ INCENDIARY DIALOGUES }

For the Propagation of Anarchic Sedition

With "Incendiary Dialogues: For the Propagation of Anarchic Sedition", we resume the editorial work of the Black International publishing project, with the aim of reaffirming the option of total liberation, updating our proposals and encouraging constant reflection and debate.

On this occasion we publish the exchange of ideas between three comrades who are already committed to the development of anarchic informality and the propagation of destructive negation: Alfredo Cospito, Gabriel Pombo da Silva and Gustavo Rodriguez.

Although some of the texts included here have been published before, their re-reading and joint edition places them in the dimension of a dialogue, which is always necessary to problematise reality and encourages the exercise of a criticism and self-criticism that leads to constant experimentation and makes us freer and more dangerous in the anarchic war against all authority.

INTERNACIONAL NEGRA
EDICIONES